

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are
356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

[23] 342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.¹³ It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.¹⁴ Structures [343] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure [476] that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

¹³ Cf. House, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

¹⁴ Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295-96; and House, 1939, pp. 157-59.

late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of manioc or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the Araucanians. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern Pisco region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the Mapuche-Huilliche, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 23-24) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 21-22; Latham, 1926, pp. 292-93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (García, 1832, p. 98), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Rio Rapel, but there is no documentary or archaeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latham, 1926 a, p. 129), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latham, 1926 a/p. 132). Manuring was apparently not practiced. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an ear- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Basadre, 1882, p. 172); a pole (used in pairs in Chile) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 243

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or *minga* system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or *parishad*, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of *chicha* (Möschbach, 1938, pp. 128-43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent time threshing with use of horses came in. 476

342 The interior of the large huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary 476 joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the village plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Hoskins, 1877-78, 1:149; Latcham, 1908, p. 217; Oyarza Silva, 1911, pp. 142-49; Manquillo, 1911, pp. 22-29; Mischak, 1920, pp. 172, 176-78.)

352 House furnishings.—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Jaquet, 1911, pp. 39-42, 229-31.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

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[177] **Clothing.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the Mapuche-Huelliche men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makut (poncho); of the women, the kapañ and the skull (thalla). Chamall, makut, and kapañ are apparently words of Araucanian origin; chiripa and skull, of Quechua.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woven cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide broadsword-trunk; his makut, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woven cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kapañ was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her skull, a shawl or caplike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tups.

Our only sources on the Mapuche-Huelliche are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same Araucanian or Spanish word to denote different garments.

421 and livestock, which as a rule was not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (*Misbach, ibid.*). There is no trace among the Argentines of the system of periodic allotment of grazing land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Páramos of far northern Chile (*Misbach, 1939, pp. 239, 264*).

422 *Inheritance*.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carrasco i Goyeneche (1878, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (*Harvard, 1933, 2:221; Molina, 1931, p. 122*). On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 *Barter*.—Barter by exchange of products was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (*Felipe, 1932, a.v. 1313; Harvard, 1933, pp. 215-17; Smith, 1935, pp. 233, 235*) Harvard states (1933, 2:738) that *Lenca* (*Shupak*) was used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murder, and Molina (1931, p. 124) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (*salas*) consisting of a horse or mule as "one payment," as or as "two payments," etc., but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche* (*Misbach*) among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Puello* for salt, beans, fish, etc.; with the Spanish, selling produce and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although *Martin de Leven* (1933, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and fairs, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, as *desks*, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 *Labor*.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of drinks, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

412 To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all wood-working, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The women's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and many

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601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi folum* and *peñi ñowe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi folum*: the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle folum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

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114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lome*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havelstad noted that a woman called her sister *lome* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lome* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.⁴

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601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1888:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453-54). There is no doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Palgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

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604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition, the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

Parcelas are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacarera*.² This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the *parceleros* are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they sometimes engage in cooperative labor (*mingano*) with their neighbors during times of peak agricultural activity.

The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacarera*, and by cattle and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.³

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930-50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

² *Chacarera* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

³ Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria anual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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[205] Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

[462] Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew [262] [295] (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

[221] [222] [43] Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household upon request (cf. Moeschbach, 1936:138-43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

496 with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake
[622] of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's
[613] or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I
[5A1] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which in-
[DK] volved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

496 The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an in-
[197] dividual family greater independence from others on the reservation
[429] than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment
[423] is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working
[429] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

496 *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvest-
[2A1] ing, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands
[491] of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *minga-*
[622] *co* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family
[623] provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able — perhaps a concession to general poverty. 496

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work — such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342
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When all the materials have been readied — which includes the preparation of food and drink — the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574]
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Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 496
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Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

46

MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

496 (murke) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
24 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[24] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation
of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve
the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until
late evening, help with a second meal.

496 Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
24 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[24] applies to draining swampland; if a large part of the reservation is
[24] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[312] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participa-
tion of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or
managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the im-
portance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's
work along with the others, although he may work for a short period
and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The
chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal
is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrange-
[24] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[24] generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvest-
ing equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do
not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads
and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing
still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous
zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills.
Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when
certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very
poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not
[24] raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as
twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region
[24] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and
threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Some-
times, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples
[535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pisülka* and traditional Mapuche
songs.

496 *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
24 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[24] tions in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of
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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacareria* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

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The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

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Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricultural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafskin*, *misha*, or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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[48] only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

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[409] Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

[409] Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

[476] The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

[409] Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

427 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

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648 While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation.

[186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

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The Mediero or Sharecropping System

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496 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While

[572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources.

[454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche. 592
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Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households. (96)

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question. 613
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Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal 611

which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilineal marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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Mapuche

THE RESERVATION AS A POLITICAL UNIT

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis.

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In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

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Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of pre-reservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

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Stated differently, the characteristic prerreservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

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Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

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INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multigroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential group are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local group into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential group as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential groups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
178 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of
the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization
of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other
crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in
plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reserva-
tion period, may be characterized as a three-field system of
planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation.
Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however,
because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent
unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the
succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil.
Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and
this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add
to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently
overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil
blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche
[434] strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most
food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
426 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
648 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to
178 lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced
upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those
preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because
of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or
because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate
this condition. The extension of credit by the government,
through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly
inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

• 476
622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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Outline of Mapuche Social Structure

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(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*áilmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in preservation and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *áilmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

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In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the sublineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

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It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *curiquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

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Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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Outline of Mapuche Social Structure

purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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476 While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves,
 427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
 648 that involving Mapuche with Chilcans. This is felt to pose some
 threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages
 are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly
 long-range danger.

476 *Mingaco* is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
 464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for
 602 certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land,
 building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
 [613] projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the
 dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage
 elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes
 invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course
 of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and
 drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of partici-
 pants comprises close relatives of the host group along with
 some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual
 congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great
 fertility rite, *millatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may
 view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual,
 and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe
 cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating
 group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less
 than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is
 usually members of segments of the localized lineage that
 engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic
 question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*,
 since it often involves but few households, the members of
 which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and
 festa.

The Concept of Ownership

423 Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary
 [428] rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on
 occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land
 [648] was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup
 in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government
 attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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182 THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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• [476] Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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476 While secular events make for interreservation contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

Death and Fertility Rites

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling *awn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufo* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesaw fan*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

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